4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

under the control of the *Nan Cheng Ssu* (Southern City Police Headquarters) but not now." In another place he tells us a payment of 40 taels ($55.56) was necessary to buy a permit from *Nan Cheng Ssu* before a title of leader (of a group) was valid. It is evident that in the prosperous days when there was a change of leadership, the police got a fixed percentage before the transaction was valid.

We have, then, been describing an organization which constitutes a hereditary monopoly of what formerly was a rather significant and important occupation in the capital. We find evidence down to the present day of a very detailed organization and minute regulations. Since 1912 there has been no Manchu Court to which tribute could be brought. It is highly probable that much of the baggage corresponding to what was formerly carried by these porters now comes in by train either from the Southwest or from the East, thus eliminating in many cases the necessity of transportation by hand over the area monopolized by the guild. The close relation not only to the Court but to the police has been discontinued; but the ancient beliefs are cherished and many ancient regulations still persist in great detail.

B. The Carpenters Guild

The Carpenters Guild of Peking is known as the "Sacred Society of Lu Pan," the supposed originator of the carpenters' craft. It includes the ordinary house-builders and the carvers of wooden ornaments, but does not take in the furniture menders, who have a guild of their own. Its headquarters are at the *Ching Chung Miao* (Refined Loyalty Temple) in the Southern City in Peking. The description here given, unless otherwise indicated, is based entirely on information gathered by Mr. Chang, the nephew of the priest, through interviews with another Mr. Chang, aged about fifty, the foreman of the carpenters' shop. In the fol-

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 335 lowing description the "Mr. Chang" referred to is the foreman.

In estimating the purpose of the founding of the guild Mr. Chang indicated that besides "protection from officials" and the "discouraging of competition" (mentioned in our questionnaire) other essential objects were "the standardization of wages" and "religious worship." In his own words, the guild was founded "to worship the master and thus express gratitude to the founder for originating the craft." He also adds, "to secure united good feeling and to unify the body" (of craftsmen). The workmen feel the bonds of close relationship between themselves and the revered founder and have a sense of solidarity and fellowship within their group.

"The date of the founding of the guild is too remote to trace. The only thing which remains clear is that the guild was reorganized in the reign of (the Manchu emperor) *Hsien Feng* (1851-52) in cooperation with the masons." This is the only statement we have regarding the founding of this important guild. The common folk-story regarding the guild's founding is given by Mr. Gamble in *Peking: A Social Survey*,[1] and is referred to later in this text.[2]

Mr. Chang tells us that previous to the founding of the guild there was "no system, no organized body, and no standardized wages." He is obviously merely referring to the absence in pre-guild days of what he considers the essential characteristics of present-day guilds. Just what form of relationship existed between the carpenters before the founding of the guild is a matter of speculation.

Carpenters or rough wood carvers, either those in charge of shops or working in them, or individual craftsmen not attached to shops, are eligible for membership in the guild.

[1] P. 175.

[2] *Cf.*, p. 100.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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The apprentices, however, as is usual in Peking crafts, cannot be full members until they have finished their training. New members are admitted at the yearly meetings of the guild. They are "invited" to join, but obviously the invitation is of a compulsory nature, for they are not allowed to carry on their trade unless they join. The initial ceremony consists in the paying of fees, the securing of a guild permit to do work in the area where the guild operates, the customary bowing three times with the head to the floor, and the burning of incense before the guild founder's picture. The privileges of membership are "to receive the standard wage, to have a proper place for burial, and to inspect the affairs of the guild." The guildsman, when working, is sure of a standard wage. The guild will support him in his demand for a certain minimum wage from the shop head under whom he is working or from an individual with whom he has contracted for a job. He is sure of a place for burial in the plot of ground owned by the guild for this purpose; even if his family has not the money to pay the expenses, he will be given a proper burial at the expense of the guild. The guildsman also has the advantage of having his "say" in the affairs of the guild.

The foreman interviewed considered that the average carpenter was interested in joining the organization for the following reasons: (1) it gave him the privilege of offering sacrifice to the master; (2) it insured for him a fraternal membership in a unified fellowship; and (3) it insured for him the hope of an increase in wages in case of a rise in prices or an unfavorable change in exchange. These three ideas are reiterated in differing phrases throughout the questionnaire. Members are interested in the religious worship, in the fellowship of the guildsmen and in the economic advantages derived from the organization. Mr. Chang significantly adds, "The hardships in recent years because of the

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF1

*467 struggle for life make the workers feel more keenly the
•335 necessity of having an organized body. Otherwise they cannot raise the wages." Mr. Gamble, in his detailed study of *Prices, Wages, and the Standard of Living in Peking*, gives us the details of the rapidly changing prices and wages in Peking. War, famine and general political disorganization have in recent years severely affected the economic life of the Chinese capital. However, it is interesting to note that previous to 1924 wages had been increased six times among the carpenters in the six preceding years.[1] The conviction that the guild would help the worker to secure an increase in wages has been justified by the experience of recent years.

There are approximately 4,000 members in this organization. They are divided into six groups according to their geographical location, five groups being in Peking and the sixth in the nearby village to the northwest called Hai Tien,[2] which was formerly the main trading center for the imperial guard of the Court.

Each of these six areas has twenty representatives chosen by the carpenters residing in the respective areas. The affairs of the guild are conducted alternately by these committees of twenty, each group serving for one year. It is quite clear that Mr. Chang thinks these committees truly represent the united will of the carpenters of the particular area. He says, "By this system each section is in charge, not merely the leaders whom they appoint."

*467 The question regarding the type of leaders elected to
335 office in guild affairs elicited this reply: "Although the aged
888 and virtuous are usually elected to office, they do not want to bear the responsibility and to waste time, and consequently resign, which gives the bad element opportunity to manip-

[1] Meng and Gamble, *Prices, Wages and the Standard of Living in Peking* (Peking, 1926), pp. 105-6.

[2] *Cf.* p. 44.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

ulate the affairs of the guild." Are we right in sensing behind these words the fear of an old guildsman of a new and younger type of leadership? Mr. Chang appears to correlate in his mind the aged and the virtuous. Mr. Chiao, the priest, said that at the regular yearly election the most aged and respected automatically became head of the guild. It has in the past been customary, as in the Chinese villages,[1] for age and standing automatically to give authority. It is quite possible that in recent years, as the carpenters more and more have been contracting for the erection of foreign-style buildings, and sometimes actually competing with foreign contractors, a new type of leadership has been found desirable. The complaint of the experienced foreman that the respected elders frequently resign from their positions may indicate inability on their part to adapt themselves to new conditions and a necessity for younger men to take the lead.

The duties of these committees are thus described: The committee "conducts the business of the guild such as making preparation for worship, buying a piece of land for a cemetery, increasing the wages (this evidently means suggesting a schedule for increasing wages) and keeping the members informed of the resolutions passed by the guild." In another place is added the following list of duties: "determining the amount of the membership fee (this also evidently means a suggestion for the guild's approval), the collecting of dues, trying to find rule-breakers and generally taking charge of the business of the guild." The qualifying word "trying" is significant and would fall in with the general picture of the decreasing power of the guilds to enforce their regulations. The officials in charge, meaning the committee for the year, when there is urgent business to be transacted which cannot wait for the annual meeting, will

[1] Kulp, *Country Life in South China*, p. 110.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

call together a meeting of representatives of the six districts "at some tea house" to discuss procedure.

Guild meetings may be divided roughly into three types: (a) The informal conferences either of the committee or of the committee and representatives called from the other five districts. (b) A preliminary meeting held in the third month if there is to be a change in the wage scale. (c) The general or religious meeting held always on the fifth day of the fifth month.

At the informal conferences such matters as the following are discussed: The suggesting to the annual guild meeting of a change of wages, details regarding ceremony of worship, emergency matters which cannot wait for the guild meeting. At the preliminary meeting in the third month the main subject is a change in the wage scale. We are told both in conversation with Mr. Chiao and in the written report that often the discussion regarding wages waxes very warm and there are frequent cases of fist fights which sometimes make it necessary to bring in the police to settle the dispute; but when the wage is once determined upon it is considered as the fixed minimum until a further decision of the guild. At the general meeting which is held in the *Ching Chung Temple*, the invitation to which reads as a call to worship Lu Pan, the founder of the guild, and to prepare a feast and a play for him, the religious ceremony is the central feature. The committee in charge for the year meets the day before to make full preparations. The members as they arrive register and pay their fees for the year. Each guildsman worships before the Master Lu Pan as soon as he has registered. Later a play is given by professional actors. Before and after the play and between the acts business is discussed. The guild rules are read, an announcement is made regarding the punishment of offenders and the names of absent members are read. On the day of the religious cere-

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

mony the officials have a feast, but the ordinary members, probably because their number is too great, do not observe this part of the ceremony.

The income of the guild is derived almost entirely from membership dues. The ordinary member pays 70 coppers ($.20) a year while the officials who have the privilege of the feast pay twice that amount. The average yearly income is reported roughly as 200,000 coppers ($579.71), but for the last calendar year (1925) the income was reported as well over 300,000 coppers ($869.56). Mr. Gamble's study of the wages of Peking indicates that because of the fall of the value of coppers the wage scale in 1924 was changed to a silver basis.[1] It is probable that because of the increase in wages more dues were paid than usual.

Outside of the annual dues "very little is received from fines, for no one would report on the non-member because of fear of hurting people." Here, also, there seems some indication of the weakening power of the guild. In some cases at least carpenters are carrying out their work without joining the guild and the guild members are afraid to report them for fear of causing offense. But "most of them (the carpenters in Peking) are members. As no one reports upon them it is not known how many non-members there are."

The procedure followed by the officials when guild members refuse to pay their dues is described as follows: "The officials in charge for the year make demands in person for the dues. If they are not paid an additional fine is charged which consists either in buying incense (to be used in the worship of the guild god) or in paying several tens of coppers. In very serious cases the offenders are sometimes forced to kneel down before the burning incense (in front of the image of the guild founder)." Evidently, the height of humiliation is the necessity of bowing in the presence of

[1] Meng and Gamble, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 335 the revered guild founder and thus publicly acknowledging one's fault. The last resort in case of the failure of all other measures is expulsion from the guild.

The term of apprenticeship is the usual three years and three months or three years and one festival season. A youth applying for an apprenticeship in a shop must have two or more guarantors who stand responsible for his good conduct. No written contract is made. The clothing is supplied for the apprenticeship period by the apprentice or his family. He is given food and lodging in the shop. 465 Apprentices who work for masters who have no shops pay for their own food and receive the wages of unskilled laborers. The conditions of food and shelter are described as ordinary, "not very bad." This, of course, is an extremely indefinite statement. At the time of the study the fixed wage determined on at the previous annual meeting was $.75 a day. It was considered that $.20 of this was for food and $.55 for wages proper. In case the carpenters were working out and buying their own food they received $.75, but if working in a shop where food was supplied, only $.55.

*467 335 The hours of work are in general from sunrise to sunset, varying consequently according to the time of year. The usual daily schedule is described thus: "The workers commence operations at sunrise and work for two hours. They then take breakfast, after which they work until noon, at which time they drink tea and rest, commencing work again at one o'clock and continuing until three, at which time luncheon is served. After lunch they work again until sunset."

*467 465 335 The following information is given regarding the criteria for determining wages: "Wages are determined according to the standard of living. The increase of wages is usually in the spring." This general statement corresponds closely

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

with Mr. Gamble's study of wages in Peking. He points out that because of the close personal relations between head carpenters and their workmen and apprentices, the heads know the actual living conditions of the workmen. The artisan is accustomed to a very simple standard of living. If he can maintain that standard he is content. If changes in prices or in money exchange threaten his standard, the guild very quickly changes the rate of pay.[1] The carpenters, like most skilled artisans in Peking, have no representative of their guild in the general Chamber of Commerce; but unlike most of the guilds in the city, they have a very close working relation with two other guilds, namely, the masons and the painters. Formerly the carpenters and masons belonged to one guild. The reasons for this cooperative relation given by Mr. Chang are: (1) all three worship the same guild founder; (2) because of the similarity of trades, all being related to the building occupation, it is the custom to increase wages in all three groups at the same time; (3) in the construction of buildings the three groups necessarily cooperate. In recent years many members of these three guilds have been engaged in the construction in Peking of Western-style as well as Chinese-style buildings. In all three trades it has been necessary to adapt the age-long practice of the craft to the demands of Westerners or of Chinese who had a Western preference for buildings constructed in other than the Chinese style. Frequently, also, it has been necessary to deal with foreign contractors in construction work such as the residences of missionaries, the hotels and the Union Medical College buildings. An attempt to establish a super-guild to include these three groups, to be known as the Lu Pan Industrial Union, is described in detail by Mr. Gamble. The failure of this attempt,

[1] Meng Gamble, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-106.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

studied by Mr. Gamble in 1919, is evidenced by our inabilty in 1925-26 to find any trace of the union.

When Mr. Chang, the old guildsman who gave the report, was asked wherein lay the real source of the guild's authority, he said he thought that a "sincere belief in the master," the "strict adherence" to traditional custom, the "sense of unity" among guild members, and the custom of deciding questions by "majority rule" were the elements that gave the guild its authority and elicited the loyalty of its members. In checking off the elements we had listed as forces which held the guild together, he indicated the following: (a) fear, (b) tradition, (c) respect for superiors, (d) mutual advantage of the members; and added again, "a sincere belief in the master." The mythological founder of the carpenters' craft, Kung Shu Lu Pan, is described in detail by Mr. Gamble as follows:

> Lu Pan, who is worshiped as the founder of the craft of the carpenters and all wood-workers, lived in the Province of Shantung about the Fifth Century B. C. Tradition has it that he was the cleverest man of his generation; that he cultivated the principles of reason and religion, knew a great deal about medicine and made things out of wood. His skill in wood-working was such that he never wasted any wood, and he was able to do his sawing and cutting without the aid of the lines ordinarily used by the carpenters. He is known as the founder of all engineering work, for he made a sky ladder for use when attacking his enemies in the air. This ladder raised and lowered itself, and when fully raised reached the sky. The Chinese say that perhaps the modern airship is the result of the sky ladder of Lu Pan. He invented a wooden bird, which flew to the sky and did not come back for three days. This was followed as a pattern by the men of the Han Dynasty, who invented the paper kite, and so Lu Pan is looked on as the originator of all playthings.
>
> Tai Shan was an apprentice of Lu Pan, but he was so stupid

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that he was disliked by his master. Finally he felt so disgraced by his inability to learn wood-working that he left Lu Pan and went out to the mountains. As he sat there disconsolate, he noticed that all around him were groves of bamboo; and thinking that bamboo was very much like wood, he split it and made baskets, tables and chairs with it. As a result, he is the hero of the bamboo workers, who blame Lu Pan because he was not able to discover the abilities of his apparently dull apprentice.[1]

At the time of the yearly religious meeting in the guild temple, a paper effigy of Lu Pan is made and on the wall to the right and to the left of this effigy are pictures of prominent deceased heads and members of the guild. The arrangements for the religious ceremony are in the hands of the committee for the year. Offerings of food are prepared and placed before the effigy. Also, paper money of the kind similar to that used at funerals and imitation silver "shoes," or conical-shaped structures of silver paper corresponding in size to the silver ingots customarily used in Chinese business transactions, are placed before the effigy. Likewise, smaller offerings of food are placed before the various photographs of the deceased members. Incense is kept burning before the effigy and the pictures.

Each guildsman after registering kowtows (kneels and bows three times with head to the ground from kneeling position) before Lu Pan and the portraits of the guild founders. After the ceremony a play provided by actors hired by the guild is given, presumably for the guild spirit, but to the great enjoyment of the guild members.

It is significant that Mr. H. C. Chang, our investigator, before studying the guild personally had thought that the religious features of these organizations were merely formal. After his study he expressed his own convictions regarding the guild as follows: "The main purpose in founding the

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-6.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

guild was to worship the master and to express thankfulness for his having handed down the technique (of carpentry). The members come to the guild meetings for the purpose of worship and religious observance."

The guildsman interviewed said that he saw signs of prosperity in his craft and that the membership was increasing: "The rent for houses is now high; therefore men are building new houses, and consequently there is more demand for carpenters. The wages also are increasing to keep pace with the rising cost of living." This general observation is in harmony with Mr. Gamble's study, *Prices, Wages, and the Standard of Living in Peking*. Because of the increasing cost of living the guild had changed the wages from a copper to a dollar basis, which meant a considerable increase.

Several years before the Boxer Uprising of 1900, certain missionaries in Tung Chow, fifteen miles east of Peking, had been training carpenters in the methods of constructing foreign houses. There has also been an increasing demand for homes for missionaries and for Christian school buildings, for business houses, stores and, more recently, hotels, government colleges and schools constructed in the Western style, as well as a general demand on the part of many wealthy Chinese for foreign-style houses. As a result a very considerable number of these guildsmen are now trained in the methods of constructing buildings in the Western style.

Not only has the technique of the carpenters changed, but the attempt to form the Lu Pan Industrial Union referred to above signifies an endeavor to meet new conditions.

C. A Meeting of the Blind Guild

In order to give a vivid picture of a meeting of one of the most colorful guilds in Peking, there follows an account of a meeting held in the spring of 1919 given by an eyewitness,

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

studied meet there, while four others meet at a well-known temple in the East City, the *Ma Shen Miao* (Temple of the Spirit of the Horse). Three guilds meet in restaurants, while three others have their headquarters in provincial halls. Two commercial guilds meet in one of the stores of their trade, while three others have no fixed place of meeting. The last mentioned include the Vegetable Merchants, who have their temporary booth in the South City, the Leather Box Makers and the Mat Tent Builders.

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C. List of Forty-Two Peking Guilds Studied, with a Brief Description of their Crafts, Trades and Professions

Craft Guilds

Awning Makers—*Pu Ping Hang* (Cloth Tent Guild). Makers of awnings or tents of cloth, used in connection with wedding or funeral ceremonies, in public markets and in the fronts of shops.

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Carpenters—*Lu Pan Sheng Hui* (Sacred Lu Pan Society). *Lu Pan* is the name of the mythological founder of the guild.[1] Workers in wood, including house builders, ordinary carpenters, and those proficient in rough wood carving such as is used in connection with ordinary house construction. The skilled carvers of wood have another guild.

467 * 335 ●

Cloth Pasters—*Ke Pei Hang Hui* (Cloth Filling Guild Association). Those who utilize old rags to make the fillings between the outer cloth covering and the inner cloth lining of Chinese shoes. Similar filling is made use of in the making of old-style Chinese skull caps—the usual type of Chinese hat before the introduction of Western-style

467 * 295

[1] *Cf.* p. 100.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

full or a half day. We have been interested to find that most of the men do not pay the same rent throughout the year. Several paid as many as five different rates, and two paid six. One of the latter paid four different rates during one month. They ranged from 20 to 40 coppers. For most of the men, the January rent was different from that for December and February. It was increased for one-half and decreased for the other half. It would be interesting to know if some of the men were preparing for the heavier traffic before Chinese New Year, and attempted to get more business by having better-looking rickshas. When the rent was reduced, some of the men may have kept their regular vehicles, but paid less rent because January is the coldest month of the year, and, except for the days just before New Year's, business is hard to find. Others may have thought they could get their usual amount of business even if they used poorer vehicles, and consequently attempted to save money by paying less rent.

Eleven men, 29 per cent, owned their rickshas. Among the 1,000 ricksha men studied in 1924, we found only 3 per cent owning their vehicles. The ricksha men lost an average of 28 days during the year, or a little more than two days a month. Three men reported some income every day of the year, and more than one-half of the group lost less than one day a month. On the other hand, four men, because of sickness, lost between 90 and 120 days. One-quarter of the group lost more than 60 days each. Many, if not most, of the men find it difficult to pull regularly without some rest days.

The carpenters worked an average of 24 days a month, and the masons 20 days. Because of the seasonal nature

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

335 of these trades, it seems probable that these were high averages. The wagon drivers lost approximately four days a month.

465 The women doing sewing and washing received an average of 33 cents a day for the days they worked; but one-half of those for whom figures are available worked on the average less than six days a month. There were four women who reported income on more than 200 days. In two families they were the only breadwinners.

462 None of the women in the 23 families with incomes of more than $150 a month were gainfully employed. In only four of the 45 families with incomes between $70 and $150 were there any women working. They were trained nurses and teachers.

Religion

162 Four Mohammedan families were included in our group, and 52 families in which there was some Christian influence—where one or more persons were either inquirers or church members. This is a smaller proportion of Mohammedan families, and a much larger proportion of families with Christian influence, than would be true for Peiping as a whole.

511 Account keeping was new to many of the families, and they were willing to do it for us largely because they were friends of the field-work directors, or friends of their friends. Both of the head field-workers were graduates of mission schools, so their acquaintance and that of their friends would naturally include a large proportion of families who had had some contact with Christianity. Such contact would tend to eliminate expenditure for non-